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THE
HISTORY
Of the late WAR with the
TURNS,
During the Siege of
VIENNA;

And the Great

Victory obtain'd against them;
at the raising the *SIEGE*.

TOGETHER,

With an Account of the under-
hand dealings of *FRANCE*
in that affair.

Being the best and fullest Relation
that has been yet publish'd.

Printed at *Cologne*, and Re-printed at *Lon-*
don, for *H. Bonwicke*, at the *Red-Lion* in
St. Paul's Church-yard, 1684.



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...and the ...

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A
RELATION

Of the present

WAR

WITH THE

TURKS,

'Till the raising the Siege of

VIENNA.

THE Emperour expected in making the Peace of Nimwegen, that France would rest contented with the

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advantages she had already
 gain'd in the War. But her
 happy successes only encreased
 her courage; for scarce had
 she sign'd the Treaty, but
 thought of breaking it. This
 dealing gave no small trouble
 to the Emperor, who beheld
 himself on the other side
 threatned by the *Turks*, and
 not trusting so much to
 his own strength, as to be-
 lieve he could at the same time
 make head against two such
 Potent Enemies, he thereupon
 dispatches Count *Albert Capra-*
ra to the Port, with advan-
 tagious offers to obtain a con-
 tinuation of the Truce, which
 was between the two Em-
 pires, and now upon expiring.
 In the mean time the Partisans
 of *France* took hence occasion
 to

to blame his Conduct ; publishing he was more willing
 to comply with the Infidels, than the King, though he
 might expect from him sufficient assistance. But they took
 no notice at the same time, that *France* would come to no
 agreement : But upon conditions which were not only
 dishonourable to the Empire, but tended also to the utter
 ruine of the Emperor. For the King of *France* would have
 approved by a Treaty all the infractions which he had made
 of the Peace of *Nimeguen*, and moreover certain pretensions
 satisfied, which I can scarce forbear terming ridiculous,
 were I not withheld by the respect which is due to what-
 soever comes from Crowned Heads.

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Howsoever, the Emperor impatiently expected some news from *Caprara*, when this Ambassador (deceiv'd by the artifices of the Grand Visier, who was wholly set upon amusing him with hopes of peace, whilst he thought on nothing but War,) advertized him he doubted not but to accomplish his business; which fill'd the Emperor and the whole Court with joy.

In effect, although he willingly would have turn'd his Arms against this common Enemy of *Christendom*, yet knowing the designs of *France*, which aspir'd of late to the Empire, th'interest of his Family made him respect it as an enemy far more dangerous, than the *Turk* could be; who
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at farthest expected but one place or two, whereas the other would swallow up the whole.

A report being spread in the month of *January*, that the King of *France* would encamp 50 Thousand men on the *Sa-ron*, and almost as many on the *Saar*, oblig'd the Emperor to secure the *Rhine*. And altho' he had only words as yet from the *Turks*, he chose rather to ungarison *Hungary*, than expose his Country to the invasion of the *French*. Count *Mansfeld*, who was with the King of *France* from the Emperor, had in the mean time orders to observe whatsoever past: But that Court taking pleasure in giving every day new fears, he could send no

certainer news than what were commonly reported, to wit, that the King would carry the War into *Germany* the next spring, if the Emperor granted him not whatsoever he demanded.

Altho' perhaps what I now mention'd, may appear distant enough from my subject, which is to relate the success of the War, which the *Turks* made with the Emperor, yet will it not appear so to those that shall take the pains, to consider how necessary 'tis to shew what the Emperor had to fear on the side of the *French*, to the end he may not be blam'd for not immediately employing all his forces to repel the Infidels; neither will it be amiss to take notice by
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the way, that setting aside Religion, 'twas more the Emperors interest to oppose this power than that of the *Turks*: *Because the Establishment of the house of France, is the undoubted ruine of the house of Austria.* Howsoever the Emperor seeing the effect was far from the hope he had conceived from the promises of *Caprara*, caused new levies to be rais'd in all the hereditary Provinces, and solicited the *Christian* Princes to enter into a confederacy with him against this common enemy of *Christendom*. The King of *Poland* made an offensive and defensive League with him: Several other Princes promised to assist him, some with men, others with money, and in short, great

preparations on all hands were made for War, seeing it could not be avoided. In the mean time it being known at *Rome* what passed in *France*, the Pope sent a Brief to the King, wherein having given him all the qualities due to a great Prince, as indeed he is, he exhorted him to assist the Emperor, or at least not hinder others from doing it.

In the mean time great care was taken to fortify *Waag* and *Raab*, the keeping of which were entrusted to the *Hungarians*; it being hoped, the seeing, not only their estates, but likewise the lives of their Wives and Children were concerned, they could not but stoutly resist th'enemy.

Comorra and *Raib*, being lookt upon as the bulwarks of *Christendom*, were carefully fortified: And it being supposed the enemy would not leave two places of that importance behind them, to come and besiege *Vienna*, there was less care than ought to be taken in strengthening this last place: so that when the *Turks* appear'd before it, the ditches were not so much as cleansed, nor the bastions repaired. Yet both these defects were amended under the favour of the Cannon and Muskets, which kept th' Infidels from disturbing the workmen. But that which facilitated the performance of this, was, that the enemies not being able to bring their Cannon over the *Danube*,
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by reason of *Raab*, and *Comorra*, which belong'd to the Emperor,, they needed much time to draw it by land, the ways being broken in several places, which hindred them from planting them so soon as their occasion required.

To mention every thing in order, I should first say, that the Emperor seeing the *Turks* had set up the *Horse-tayle*, which is to them a signal of War, and moreover exercised several hostilities on the frontiers, he held a Council of War, resolving to prevent their designs. 'Twas determin'd in this Council, that the Troops should speedily leave their Garrisons, and make their *rendezvous* a league distant from *Presburg*, to march thence
to

to *Newhawfel*, which was intended to be besieged, in hope 'twould be taken before the *Turks* could succor it.

The Command of the Army was given to the Duke of *Lorraine*; for besides the confidence which the Emperor put in him, he should by this means take away all causes of jealousy from several others, who would not have been contented, had they been oblig'd to obey any one but the Emperors Brother-in-Law. In the mean while the Duke of *Lorraine*, who was sick during the whole Winter, and scarce yet fully recovered; could not come so soon to the Army, and indeed made it a month before his arrival, which occasion'd much mischief: For
whilst

whilst he was recovering from his sickness, the Bassa of *Newhausel* had time to fortify the place, and to prepare himself for defence.

The Governor of *Gran*, who likewise might fear the Emperors Arms, took care where-soever he was concerned, and agreed with the Bassa of *Newhausel* to send him assistance, if he should be the first set upon, as also to receive the same from him, if *Gran* chanced to be first attackt by the *Christians*.

Things being in this posture; when the Duke of *Lorraine* came to the Army, and made the review of it in the presence of the Emperor, Duke of *Bavaria*, and several other Princes, he caused it to march
be-

between *Gran* and *Newhausel*, as if it had been still uncertain which of these places he minded to attack. About six leagues off both these Cities he seem'd to be determin'd for *Gran*: For having made a detachment of 6000 horse, he caus'd them to march on the side of *Gran*, which made the Baisa of *Newhausel* believe that 'twas not he, whom he design'd. In the mean time to satisfy the agreement made betwixt 'em, as afore mention'd, he sent out about 2000 men of his Garrison, with orders to enter *Gran*. But as soon as ever he that Commanded the detachment of the Duke of *Lorrain* knew they were entered, he turn'd short off to *Newhausel*, which he invested.

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The Duke of *Lorrain*, ravish'd at the news of the Garrison of *Newhausel*'s being thus weak'ned, hast'ned to the Town, and having fixt his Quarters, sent a summons to the Governour to this effect, *That he wondred at his obstinacy in defending such a place which had not half men enough to keep it; and thereupon advised him to come to a speedy agreement, otherwise he would deal with him, as those deserve, who pertinaciously stand upon a fruitless defence.* The Bassa of *Newhausel* made answer to the Duke of *Lorrain*'s messenger, *That he wondred what should hinder him from putting him to death at that instant, that he should therefore speedily return and tell his General, he would shew him*

in a few days to whom the Grand Signor Entrusted his places. In effect, he on that day made a sally out on our Guards, who gave place to the first impetuosity of the *Turks*: Which gave an allarm to the whole Camp, and caused the cavalry to mount on Horse-back, who beat back the Infidels. Yet did they carry away a great number of Prisoners, whose heads they caused to be immediately cut off.

And to affright us the more, planted them along the walls of the Town, which was an object of great grief to several, who continually beheld the loss they had suffered, of their brother, friend, or near kinsman. This happy success encouraged afresh the *Turks*
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to make another Sally the next morning, in which having likewise taken some Prisoners, they used 'em after the same manner as the former.

This did not so damp the Courage of the *Christians* as to hinder 'em from making use of it as a motive to revenge, and of more care for the future. Our batteries then were raised in a short time, the trench opened, and there was never more hopes of a happier success, when there arose a report throughout the whole Camp, That the Duke of *Lorraine* openly complained, that Prince *Herman* of *Baden*, President of the Council of War, which was at *Vienna* with the Emperor, kindered necessities being sent him for the siege, hoping

hoping thereby to make him lose his reputation, and render himself more considerable. In fine, these reports were so common in the Army, that coming to the Ears of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden Herman's* Nephew, he had some words about it with the Duke of *Lorrain*. And indeed 'twas well known of a long time, that Prince *Herman* had a secret jealousy of the Duke and 'twas the opinion of several, that he would not have been much troubled had his undertakings prov'd successful. But in this occasion, not only the wellfare of the Empire, but moreover of all *Christendom* being concerned, 'twas charitably judg'd this hatred was somewhat abated, if

if not wholly extinguisht. But 'twas afterwards apparent how greatly such as thus reasoned were deceived, when they came to use the ammunition.

Whilst the Trench was well advanced, and there were great hopes for us, the Duke of *Lorraine* receives an order from the Emperor, signed with his own hand, by which he was enjoyn'd to raise the siege, and put forces into *Raab*, *Comorra*, and *Presburg*. 'Tis impossible to relate the vexation which seiz'd the Duke at this Command, the whole fault of which he cast on the Prince of *Baden*: But not able to dispence with his obedience, he retir'd from the Town, and drew up his Army in Battalia, shewing by his

his countenance, that obedience was the only cause of his retreat. In fine, when he was to depart, he lodged some infantry in several houses, which were about a quarter of a league distant from the Town, hoping in case he should be follow'd, not only this infantry would favour his retreat; but moreover, seeing the enemy must pass near these houses, those whom he left behind in 'em might attack 'em in the Flank, and whilst they were surpriz'd with the first Charge, the cavalry which was at the rereguard, should turn head upon them, and easily defeat 'em.

It cannot be said, but that this order was given according to the rules of War, there being

ing all the likelihood in the world of a surable success. But the raising of the siege had so discouraged the Troops, that when the Infidels appear'd, the rearguard doubled their pace, instead of facing about, leaving those who were in the houses without any hope of succour. They defended themselves, as well as they could, for an hour or two, but the place being not tenable, they were forced to yield to a greater power, so that those who escaped from the combat, were all made Prisoners.

This did little advantage them, for the Bassa no sooner was entered into *Newhaifel*, but he caused their heads to be cut off, and planted on the ramparts of the Town, with those

those who dyed with their Arms in their hands, as if he meant his cruelty should add to his glory. The Count *de Taxis*, who was of one of the best Families in *Spain*, and whose Ancestors have possessed time out of mind the Office of Great Master of the Posts of that Kingdom, was one of those miserable victims.

The Army, in the mean while held on the way to the Isle of *Schut*, and as she retir'd, news came of a greater misfortune, than the raising the siege of *Nembauset*. I mean of the Treason of the *Hungarians*, that were in the passage of *Vaag*, who instead of defending it, as was expected, joyned themselves to Count *Teckely*, chief of the Male-contents of

Hungary, after they had Charged the other Troops, which were with them, for the defence of the passage. I cannot expresse, nor nobody with me, how great was the Armys consternation at the first news of this mishap. For every one imagining already to see the *Turks* at his elbow, thought of nothing but how to escape them; and as if they had neither Arms nor Hands to oppose them, they had the victory already yielded 'em without striking a stroke. But that which augmented still each ones fear, was, that of every party which was sent out from the rest of the Army, there return'd at most not above half, and generally in bad order.

Every

Every body took pleasure in augmenting the Forces of the enemy. Some saying they were 300000 men, others 400 thousand, and exaggerating beyond all truth the cruelties which they had exercis'd along the way. *So ingenious are men when they are set upon it to do themselves mischief.*

In fine, the *Turks* having past the *Vaag*, and possessed themselves of all places, which are between that River and the *Danube*, arrived on the banks of this latter, where they built a Bridge above the *Papas*, over which passed their Infantry. The Cavalry with the Baggages passed over the *Papas*. But the Army being numerous, and the multitude generally retarding enterprises,

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the Grand Visier made several detachements, some to plunder the Country, others to pursue our Army, which had not yet gain'd the Isle of *Schm*. Those that were design'd for plunder, gather'd an inestimable booty of all things. For nothing being less suspected than the Treason of the *Hungarians*, every one was therefore in his house, far from thinking their misfortune so near.

All the Campaign was then entirely pillag'd, and after the Infidels had satisfi'd their covetousness, they glutted their cruelty in the blood of Aged persons. In fine, they set all on fire, sparing neither houses of Princes, nor Peasants; nor those of the Emperor, so that

that *Luxemburg* was burnt with several considerable Castles, and their vastations were sooner known at *Vienna*, than the revolt of the *Hungarians*.

The *Tartars* who were employ'd in the ruine of so many men; and stately Buildings; retir'd with the same precipitation wherewith they came, fearing to be cut off in their way home; and left as many marks of cruelty in their retreat, as they made appear in their coming. This news, which was soon known by our Army, perfected our dread and consternation. The Duke of *Lorrain* could find no body, who would undertake to bring him news of the enemies motion, and when he sent out any, it seem'd as if he sent

'em to their Graves. So greatly were they possess'd with an imagination of their force and cruelty. Yet the Army still advanc'd, the Infantry at the head, the Cavalry at the tayl, with the Dragoons. The Baggage was on the left, and marcht separately with the Regiment of Dragoons of *Savoy*, at the head of whom was the *Chevalier* of *Savoy*, whose Father was the deceased Count of *Soissons*, the Infantry of Count *Taff* was also for the guard of these Baggages with the Cavalry detach'd from diverse bodies. As we were at the bank of a River a party which the Duke of *Lorraine* had sent out brought him word, that the enemy was not above a league off which

which oblig'd him to remain in the rereguard, to give order that they might be receiv'd as they ought. But the fear was so great, that instead of hearing this Command, the Cavalry forsook the Infantry, and retir'd under the Cannon of *Vienna*. The Duke of *Lorraine* follow'd the Cavalry to make it return to its post, but not being able to become master of it, he Commanded the Infantry with all speed to pass over into the Isle of *Schut*, which was near, and to retrench themselves incessantly. Whilst the avantguard passed, the enemy appear'd, and began to Charge the Regiment of *Montecuculi*, who had the rereguard. The Baggage was likewise attackt at the same

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time, and the *Turks* found so little resistance in the one and the other, that they promis'd themselves to obtain an entire Victory that very day.

In the mean while the *Chevalier* of *Savoy*, who was as I said, engag'd in the defence of the Baggage, having rally'd some Dragoons, and some others that were well dispos'd, set himself to oppose the enemy. But his men having been soon beat back, he was overrun by the *Turks*, and his horse falling backwards on him, the pommel of his Saddle with the weight of his horse crusht him to death. The Infantry on their side fought under favour of the Waggon, or to speak better, endeavour'd to make them a rampart against the
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strokes of the enemy. But as soon as ever the *Turks* had open'd a passage, every one began to throw down his Arms, and take his heels, so that in shunning death, they found it nearer and more ignominious. For the *Turks* lighting on 'em thus disarm'd, and without defence, kill'd them without the least danger.

In fine, after they had kill'd about 800, they fell on the Baggage, which saved the rest of the Army. For whilst they were busied on pillaging, they which had not yet past over into the Isle of *Schut* made hast to get thither. We lost near 13 or 14 hundred men in this conflict, amongst whom were two Princes, to wit, the

valier of Savoy, and the Prince *de Aremberg*, three Counts of the Empire, and several Officers. Moreover the *Turks* took a great booty, whose value was esteem'd at 3 hundred thousand Crowns: For the Prince of *Montecuculi* lost for his share near 20 thousand, the Prince of *Baden* a more considerable sum, and several other Officers accordingly.

But though every particular person had enough to lament the loss of, yet this was the least trouble, for there were other things of greater concernment. The Infantry saw themselves abandoned by the Cavalry, and knew not well which way to turn themselves. The Duke of *Lorraine* was gone after the horse, and
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the news of him was expected with the greatest impatience. But he lost no time, being resolv'd to lose his life, or bring off his Infantry. In effect, after some reproaches to the Cavalry, he tells 'em, *the way to repair their fault, was to return to the enemy: That they need only follow him, for he hop'd by Gods assistance, how difficult soever the enterprize was, to come in a short time to the end of it.*

He was become desperate by what had happen'd to him, and his affliction made him scarce known, so greatly was he alter'd by it. For besides the danger, wherein all the Empire lay, (he knew that the good and bad success of affairs were attributed only to the Com-
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manders,) he beheld his reputation in great danger, had not fortune seconded his Courage. He marcht always foremost, and having given necessary orders to avoid confusion, he sent away two men, by different ways, to advertise his Infantry, that he was coming to their assistance.

The *Turks* knowing his design, made strait up to him, to dispute him the passage, but the Duke casting himself first amongst the firings of the enemy, open'd a passage with his Sword, having beat down before him all that oppos'd him. In fine, having re-joyn'd his Infantry, he was receiv'd with testimonies of esteem, and an extraordinary joy. He shew'd them on his
side

side the satisfaction he took in delivering them from that great danger, but amidst these congratulations he learnt that the main body of the *Ottoman* Army drew near, and thereupon puts a great part of the Infantry into *Raab*, *Comorra*, *Presburg*, and withdrew with the rest of his Cavalry near *Vienna*.

The Emperor who had receiv'd a fierce alarm by the suddain irruption of the Infidels, and who consider'd that after the revolt of the *Hungarians*, he could no longer remain at *Vienna* in surety, be-thought himself at the same time of leaving it. But first augmented the privileges of the Scholars, which were already very great, and considerable,

able, that having receiv'd them as a recompence of their Courage which they shew'd heretofore against *Solyman*, when he besieg'd the City, this should be a fresh incitement to defend it with the same resolution. He gave also to the Shoemakers Apprentices their Freedom, who were to the number of about 1500, in case they took Arms, and did any thing considerable for the Country.

In fine, having recommended the City to Count *Starenberg*, whom he left therein Governor, he departed carrying with him whatsoever he had valuable. He took the way of *Lintz*, accompanied with the two Empresses, the Princes his Children, and other Persons of Quality. Every

Every one wept at his departure, and this Prince had much ado to forbear himself. So greatly was he afflicted to be thus constrain'd to abandon his people to the mercy of the Infidels. In the mean time each one endeavour'd to follow him, to avoid the being expos'd to those mischiefs which they represented. In fine, there being not Coaches enough to carry all those that offer'd 'emselves, several Women of Quality got behind like Lacques ; so that one might have seen the first Prince in the World, follow'd by all the flower of the *German* Nobility, to go as an exul amidst the screeches and lamentations of his people, who presented 'emselves in his passage with showr's of tears. Se-

Several Jesuits, who were very ready to follow the Emperor for several reasons, were gotten into a Waggon, at the sight of whom the people turn'd their compassion into a just rage. And knowing their perfidiousness was the cause of all these miseries, they fell upon 'em, and few escap'd their fury.

The Emperor all this while marched with a countenance sad and dejected like his fortune. Others kept a mournful silence, and although each had left their estates behind 'em, 'twas not known whether their own mishap or that of the Prince was to be most lamented. In fine, this march much resembled a Funeral Pomp, when another spectacle en-
creas'd

creas'd the dolour and compassion. For they beheld the other side of the *Danube* all in fire, and the Emperor having caused his Coach to stop, knowing not at first what it was, soon perceiv'd 'twas the *Turks*, who shew'd there new testimonies of their barbarous cruelty. He could not withhold his tears at the sight of a thing so much needing his compassion, and although he did all he could to refrain his grief, he could not effect it.

Being arriv'd at *Lintz*, he staid there some days expecting the whole Court, which could not part at the same time with him. And every one being come near his person, he travell'd thence to *Passaw*, where he resolv'd to wait

wait the events of the War. There came news every day which served to accomplish his misery; for in effect he was inform'd from *Hungary*, that all places revolted from him, and that he had reason to suspect those about him of that Country, who mutter'd unsufferable things against his government.

In the mean time the *Turkish* Army advanc'd still on the side of *Vienna*, which oblig'd the Duke of *Lorraine*, who could not resist them, to put forces into the place, and thence to retire. He put in effectually 12000, who with the ancient Garrison, amounted to about 15000 men, besides the Scholars, Handycrafts men, and several other Inhabitants, who were able to do service. Count.

Count *Starenberg* seeing the *Turks* were coming strait to *Vienna*, assembl'd all the people, and made to 'em a short discourse to this effect. *That before the enemy blockt up the way, he was desirous of knowing who were for staying in the Town, and who for leaving it. That they need only freely tell him, for he meant no hurt thereby to the one nor the other. Moreover as to those who were for staying with him, he must as freely discover his resolutions to defend the place to the utmost extremity, so that if they had not Courage enough, to share with him both the honour and danger, which must accompany all their actions, they would do better to depart than stay. At which words every one cryed out, he was ready to dye*
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for his Country, and *Starenberg* seeing their forwardness, bid them hold up their hands as they would be faithful to God and their Emperor; at the same time one might have beheld an infinite number of hands lifted up in the Air in sign of fidelity.

Starenberg having congratulated their forwardness, sent away useless persons out of the Town. But being about to turn the Women out, they entreated him not to do it, promising to work as well as the Souldiers, which so satisfi'd him, that he caused but few of 'em to depart. In the mean while he made an Inventory to be brought him of the munitions of War, and provision; and found he had more corn
than

than he needed, but few cat-
tel for so great a Garrison. He
also found he had less powder,
and other necessaries, and no
one could tell whom to charge
with this neglect, for time was
not wanting whereby to pro-
vide all things: All that could
be said, was, that 'twas hop'd
the place would be succor'd
before they came to want these
things. For otherwise, this
neglect of the Officers could
not be sufficiently blam'd,
who believing the *Turk* dar'd
never begin his Campaign there,
thought it sufficient to store
Raab, *Comorra*, and *Presburg*,
which they imagin'd lay more
expos'd to danger. Yet was
not this an excuse for them,
whose care ought to have pro-
vided against whatsoever might
happen. But

But not to reprehend any one here, I shall only say that the *Turks* finding no body in the field to withstand them, extended their Army in such a manner, that it contain'd above 30 miles in front. They burnt thus a great deal of the Country, and having left every where the marks of their cruelty, the Army attackt the Isles which are on the *Danube* about *Vienna*, and having made 'emselfes masters of them, they thereby took away all communication which they held with the Town.

On the other hand, the Parties which the Grand Visier had sent out, possess'd themselves of several Castles, of which they burnt those which were useless to 'em, and put in Gar-

Garrisons in the others which might secure their Convoys. Yet had they left a great many Troops about *Raab*, *Comorra* and *Presburg*, to curb those Garrisons, which without this, had been likely to disturb the forragers, and hinder those who came every day to their Army, from travelling in surety. Count *Teckely* who had excited great troubles in *Hungary*, where he held intelligence with all the great ones, the most part of which were his kindred, had march'd in the mean time on the frontiers of *Poland*, to hinder not only the effect of the league, which I have already mention'd, which was concluded by the Emperor and the King of *Poland*, but likewise to possess himself of

of some Castles, which were necessary for this design. He took several of 'em without any trouble, because the great ones of the Country, who desir'd only some pretence to appear compell'd to take Arms against the Emperor, were very glad of this opportunity, and failing not to publish, they could do no otherwise than declare themselves on the side of the strongest, seeing they were forsaken by him who ought to protect them, they took part with *Teckely*, so that his Army every day considerably encreas'd. There was only one Barron of the Country, named *Johanelli*, who made resistance in his Castle of *Panowitz*, and who oblig'd *Teckely* to a formal attacking him.

This

This Castle being situate on the top of a Mountain whereunto 'twas difficult to bring up the Cannon, held *Teckly* a longer time than he could well spare from his affairs. For whilst he was employ'd before that place, General *Schuts*, who had order to joyn the Troops of Prince *Lubomirski*, (then on their march from *Poland* in great diligence,) hasten'd to execute his orders, and effected 'em before *Teckely* could hinder him.

Teckely enrag'd, that such a place as this should make him miss so considerable an occasion, batter'd the Castle of *Panowits* with such fury, that the Cannon having made a breach wherein might pass 10 men a breast, he resolv'd to
give

give a terrible assault. Whereupon the Baron *Johannelli*, (whose Garrison consisted of not above 200 men, and they people pickt up here and there, and who fought rather to save their goods, which they had laid up in the Castle, than for honour) sent a messenger to *Teckely*, to let him know that he would surrender upon certain conditions. But this General was so enrag'd, as I already mention'd, that he had made him lose so much time, which he might to good purpose have us'd elsewhere, that he would not have granted a surrender upon any Terms, if the *Hungarian* Lords, who were some of 'em his own kinsmen, and some *Johannelli's*, had not interpos'd their intreaties to give him his life. *Teckely*

Teckly marching from thence encamp'd at *Tokay*, where, understanding the Grand Visier march'd on the side of *Eseck*, he parted from his Camp with 2000 horse, to meet and confer with him about what they had to do, during this Campaign. The reception which the Grand Visier gave *Teckely*, surpriz'd those which accompanied him, so great was the kindness shew'd him. But this *Turkish* Minister had private ends in doing this, considering it necessary to insinuate into the minds of the *Hungarian* Lords there present, that he came rather to give them assistance, than to enlarge the dominions of his Master, which were already but too great, and of too vast extent. He receiv'd
C him

him then not as a Baron of the Country, but as him for whom his Master reserv'd the Crown of *Hungary*, of which he was very willing to give him assurances, in presence of the principal *Turks* and *Hungarians*. To the end, that the news of it flying every where, might produce the effect he expected. He, in the mean time, orders him, to possess himself of the passage of *Oralva*, through which he expected the coming of the King of *Poland*, assuring him that thereon depended the success of the promises which he made to him in the name of the Grand Signior.

Things were in this posture, when the Grand Visier sat down before *Vienna*. He immediately attackt the Subburb of

Leo-

Leopoldstad, which is separated from the Town only by an Arm of the *Danube*, and having made himself master of it, after a fierce dispute on both sides, he raised two Bridges on the River, the easier to communicate with his own Troops, who were scatter'd up and down, some in the Isles, others in the main land. He expected in the mean while his great Ordnance, which could not arrive so soon, because as I have already said, they were forc'd to draw it by land, which was very tedious, especially the ways being so uneven.

In the interim, to lose no time, the Grand Visier set 'em to work at the lines of circumvallation, and contravallation,

which were all of 'em very irregular, by reason of the situation of the Country, but which were yet no less strong.

For the former were Cannon proof, and the latter defended by good redoubts, which were rais'd in an equal distance.

'Till the lines of circumvallation were drawn, the third part of the *Ottoman* Army lay still at *Bivac*, and although the rest kept quiet in the Tents, yet had they order to be ready at the first command so that the horses remain'd saddled all night. The lines being finish'd, they were no longer guarded but by loose bodies of men, which afforded some rest to the Army which was exceeding weary.

by continual standing to their Arms, for they were not only oblig'd to frequent watchings, but forc'd to keep continually on horseback, either to meet the Convoys, or for other exigences of War.

On our side there was a great fault committed, for instead of wasting the Corn and Grass growing in the fields, t' incommode the enemy, they were both left untouched, which was the cause that the enemies Army, as numerous as it was in horse, had no need to go far for forage.

Whilst this past, Count *Starenberg* had interrupted the work of those that labour'd at the lines of contravallation, by frequent sallies. But finding this proceeding disadvantageous

ragious to him (for their fell
such a multitude of *Turks* on his
men, that they were always
forc'd to give way,) he con-
tented himself with firing the
Cannon at 'em, which did
good execution, 'till the enemy
had made themselves shelters.
These lines being finish'd,
they opened their Trenches,
placing 4000 horse to defend
the Workmen.

The fire of the Town was
very great all the night, du-
ring which Count *Starenberg*,
caus'd several Artificial fires
to be thrown over the Walls,
to discover on what side the
enemies were at work.

The great Ordinance of the
Turks being now arriv'd, 'twas
plac'd on several Mounts, the bet-
ter to do Execution. The Grand
Visier

Visier set 20 thousand men to guard it, in case the Christians should attempt to enclose it. For an *Italian*, who had fled into his Camp, assur'd him that Count *Starenberg* had such a design, and, although the enterprise appear'd to him so difficult, that he could scarce credit it, yet was he resolv'd to be wanting in no manner of precaution.

He caus'd 4 batteries to be rais'd, two of which plai'd against one bastion, so that one might say they were one and the same battery, were it not that they ruin'd it on both sides. As to the two others, they were plac'd against two other works, which defended the City on the side of the Scotch and Red Gates, where the Grand Visier design'd

design'd. to make his attack,

As soon as ever these batteries were finish'd, they were so well supply'd, that the Town receiv'd a thousand shot the first day, and more than 16000 the two next: All the City Cannon were in these 3 days dismounted, and great numbers were wounded, with several Officers kill'd in their attendance on it. This furious beginning fill'd the whole City with terrour, which was encreas'd by the *Bombs*, that set several parts on fire; and that were with great difficulty quench'd.

The Citizens, who were not us'd to these kind of disasters, had already lost above half their Courage, which they shew'd before the siege began.

began. And Count *Starenberg* knowing there were not wanting some who began to talk of a surrender, caus'd a Gallows to be set up in the Market-place; swearing in the presence of some of the principal Citizens, that he would hang thereon the first that should mention any such matter.

This severity, which was not unseasonable, retain'd the most fearful in their duty and obedience. But lest the Citizens should infect the Soldiers with the same fears, he hindred, as much as in him lay all communication with 'em. And although he first thought to distribute some of his Soldiers amongst the City Trained-bands, to make them the

more hardy and expert, yet he chang'd his resolution, lest as I now mention'd, the fear of the one, should lessen the Courage of the other.

The Emperor, who was at *Passau*, as I already observ'd, receiv'd in the mean time messengers every day from the Duke of *Lorraine*, who inform'd him what he could of the siege, of which he was but indifferently inform'd himself. For two men which Count *Starenberg* sent him, were taken by the *Turks*, as they endeavour'd to pass over to his Camp, and were at the same time hang'd, for having Letters found about 'em. He could not then know more, than what common fame brought him, which took pleasure to make things worse than they

they were, every one regulating the present, by what had past, which indeed was not very fortunate.

The Emperor was in a mortal anguish touching what would become of him. For on one hand the *most Christian King*, having made his Troops to march toward the frontiers of *Germany* came thither in person, and 'twas reported his designs were against *Cologne*, or *Philipsburg*, having Pensioners, as well in one place as the other. In effect in the latter of these one *Nigrelly* was suspected, and in the former the whole Town.

Moreover the King of *Spain* was so dangerously sick, that he was given over by his Physicians; whereupon the Emperor

peror consider'd in case he dyed, the King of *France* would have several claims to decide with him, and fall boldly on the Empire, which perhaps otherwise he durst not attempt, lest he should draw on him the hatred of the Christian Princes.

Being troubled with these fears, he receiv'd two grateful messengers, the one informing him the King of *France* was return'd home, and the other that the King of *Spain* was on his recovery. He wanted only to hear the siege of *Vienna* went ill on the *Vissers* side, but was inform'd on the contrary, that the *Turks* every day recruited their Camp, with fresh Troops, and their endeavours grew e-

very

very moment, more successful against the Town: This news banisht the joy from his heart which he had conceiv'd at the former. And forgetting not to hasten the succors which he was promis'd from several parts, he sent exprestes into all Courts to represent the necessity he had of assistance, and to excite his Allies to a speedy contribution.

In the mean while the Marquess of Sepperville, Envoy from the King of France to the Emperor, was the person from whom the bad news of the siege was sooner learnt than from any other. And he made it his business, to retail it out to every one, although this made him suspected by the Emperor, seeing he dispatcht
four

four messages in one week to the King his Master. He hop'd perhaps by this means to give him a great deal of satisfaction, but he at the same time inspir'd the Prince of *Conti* with a desire to signalize himself against the Infidels, who was moreover discontented at the Kings giving to his prejudice the Government of *Languedoc*. to the Duke of *Maine*, his natural Son; which had been promis'd him in espousing *Mademoiselle de Blois*. He communicated his design only to Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, Brother to the Chevalier of *Savoy*, who was kill'd in the service of the Emperor, as I have already mention'd, lest in making more acquainted with it, some one should discover it to the King.

He

He resolved to part from the Court, on *Monday* the 25th of *July*, and having commanded his Coach-man to tarry for him at the *Pallace Royal*, where was *Monsieur* the Duke of *Orleans* lately come from *Versailles*, he mounted on Horse-back with Prince *Eugenius*, attended only by a Page, but without a Livery, and took Post for the Road of *Sens*. About ten miles from *Paris*, a Postillion knew him, so that the Prince of *Conti* having spoken to him, and the other giving him his Title, the Prince askt him whether he knew him, and the other answering he did, he gave him four Pistols, not to discover which way he went, & changing Hats with him, thought he might
thus

this pass on unknown. But this fellow had no sooner left him, but carries the Hat to the House of *Conde*, which he gave to *Gourville* intendant of Monsieur the Prince, Uncle to the Prince of *Conti*.

They were all till then in great trouble, for his Coachman who had waited for him at the Pallace Royal till eleven at night, had set all the house in Alarum. And it being known, he had left the Court, this troubled Madam the Princess of *Conte*, but yet not so much as the King, who could not imagine what was become of him. The King had sent word hereof to the Prince of *Conde*, who was then at *Paris* by the Duke of *Fuie-lade*, and this Prince who was
ready.

ready to return to *Chantilly*, came to him, to remain a surety for his Nephews Fidelity. In the mean time those that believed they knew him, said he was not much troubled at this disparition, which shewed the Prince of *Conti* had courage, and could not suffer the Duke of *Maine* to be preferred before him without Resentment.

Immediately as soon as 'twas certain at Court what Road he had taken, the King sent several Messengers after him, and gave one of them, whose name was *Saintrailles*, and belonged to the Prince of *Tonde*, a Letter for him, written with his own hand, in which he called him his *Son*; but which at the same time told him, *that if he return'd*
not

not speedily, hee'd never see him.
 Whilst 'twas doubted, considering his circumstances, whether he would obey or no, the Prince of Conde sent him Letters of Exchange for twenty thousand Crowns, knowing he had carried but 600 Pistols with him; and that his occasions would require them if he went further. But this being an encouragement to him to continue his Journey, rather than break it, gave every man occasion to believe, the Prince of Conde would not be much troubled should he not shew himself so obedient.

This Princes departure, to signalize himself against the *Turks* (for 'twas not doubted but 'twas his design.) gave ample matter of discourse to
 the

the people, some attributing this resolution to the reason which I before related, others to a domestick grievance, which was muttered soon after his Marriage.

- But to return to *Saintrailles*, he arrived at *Bussels* the same day he parted from *Versailles*. And being informed the Prince of *Conti* only past thorow it, and had taken the road of *Cologne*, he got to *Namur*, whence he came down by the *Menſe*, to *Liege*, where he rested a while: and taking post thence used such diligence, that he overtook the Prince of *Conti*, who seeing in the Kings Letter, the threatnings he used, he resolved on obeying him, so that having embraced Prince *Eugenius*, of whom the King made
no

no mention, and who was resoly'd to continue his Journey, and given him a Diamond of great value, he leasurely returned toward *France*, sending *Saintrailles* before him, who long'd to give the King an account of his Journey. But *Saintrailles* found the King in such a surprize by the Death of the Queen, who dyed in a manner suddenly, that he had scarce leasure to think on the Prince of *Conti*. Yet was he well enough pleased at his obedience, seeing it much concerned him, that whilst he endeavored at the ruin of the house of *Austria*, she should not have a Prince of the Blood in her hands, for whom she might expect a great Ransom, supposing she could not so greatly

greatly exasperate his discontents, to make him use his Arms against his Allegiance.

The affairs of the Prince of *Conti* bearing some Relation to the subject I handle, I hope will be a sufficient excuse for the digression. I shall now return to the Siege of *Vienna*, which the *Turks* continued with success, sometimes favourable and sometimes contrary. *Staremberg* seeing they advanced in their works, still made some Sallies, in one of which he had so briskly charged 'em, that if all their Horse had not come into their assistance with the *Janisaries*, he had made a grievous rout amongst them and their works. But finding the match to grow unequal, he sounded a retreat, and whatsoever

soever good order he observed, yet did he lose several Officers of note, and no small number of common Soldiers.

Soon after this he discovers a dangerous enterprize, begun by two Christians against the City, one of which was an *Albanian* by Nation, and the other of *Candia*. Their design was to set fire on some parts of the Town, under pretence of quenching that which often was fired by the Enemies Bombs. But there being found Straw, instead of water in their hands, they were apprehended, and put on the Rack, where confessing their crime, they were punished as they deserved. Their heads were afterwards sever'd from their bodies and set upon the wall, not only that

that they without might know their secret practises were discovered, but also to keep those within from the like Treasons.

In the mean time the *Turkish* Army receiving no recruits, but what were brought by Camels and Waggon, did not so abound, but that they were often in want. Forrage moreover became thin near the Army, and therefore they were forced to go far. In this necessity the Grand *Viser* sent part of his Horse on the side of *Raab*, and caused a party of Foot to come to the Camp, which lay on that side the Country, of which he had more need than of the Horse.

With this Foot which were all in breath the designs greatly ad-

advanced. So that the Grand
Visier seeing himself no further
 from the Counterscarp than ten
 paces, resolved to attack it
 after he had sprung a mine, in
 the Ruins of which he thought
 he might securely lodge. But
 the mine instead of damnify-
 ing the besieged, falling on the
 side of the aggressors, several
 that had advanced to be ready
 for the assault were destroyed
 in its Ruins. Whose places
 being fill'd up by others, the
 Counterscarp was attackt with
 such Vigor, that 'twas wrested
 by the Swords point. But
Staremberg, who considered that
 if he gave the *Turks* time to
 lodge themselves there it would
 be the loss of the Town, sent
 thither fresh men, which after
 a sharp dispute on both sides,
 drove

drove the *Turks* thence, of whom they made a great Slaughter.

The *Turks* believing their honour was concerned to retake the Counterescarp, and better keep it than before, blew up another Mine, which proving more effectual than the former, made one part of the work fly up into the Air, together with some men that were upon it. Which daunting the Christians courage, several began to faine and give way, whilst the *Janissaries* assisted by the Workmen, possess themselves of the Counterescarp. They began at the same time to entrench themselves, when *Staremburg* hastening to his Men's assistance endeavored to hinder 'em, and with his Sword in his hand

D

vigo-

vigorously attackt them, mingling several Granadiers with his Soldiers, in whom he had plac'd his chief confidence.

The *Janisaries* although they had not time to shelter themselves, yet fail'd not to receive him bravely, and having likewise advanc'd their Granadiers, and being possess'd of the higher ground, they scarcely fir'd any Granado which had not its effect: the heat of the Christians insensibly abated, and *Starenberg* perceiving they gave ground, bethought himself of a retreat, plainly perceiving all his endeavours would be fruitless.

In effect, *Starenberg* having made the Counterscarp on the side of the City to be Counter-

ter-min'd, and his Mine being
 unperceiv'd, he had no sooner
 retir'd far enough, but he
 blew it up, which caused
 several *Turks* to caper in the
 Air. The *Turks* were by this
 put in great disorder, and *Sta-*
enberg resolving to make his
 advantage of it, return'd to
 the Charge before they could
 put themselves in order. But
 a Battalion advancing to their
 assistance, the fight began a-
 gain with equal heat, but
 with a success very different.
 For the *Turks* finding them-
 selves refresh'd every moment,
 instead of losing Courage, felt
 their forces augmenting, whilst
 the Christians whose Ranks ap-
 pear'd thin, as any one might
 see by half a look, began to
 waver. In effect that which
 D 2 they

they had before their eyes, was a spectacle terrible enough to astonish the most resolute. For they could not make a step, but they must pass over the bodies of their Companions, the greatest part of which, lying gasping for life, were trodden to death by the multitude.

Starenberg seeing that instead of restoring good order amongst his men, the disorder every moment increas'd, chang'd the design which he had of Re-taking the Counter-scarp, into that of preserving what had yet escap'd the Enemies hands. And having made his retreat, and taken great care of the wounded, he made a review of those Forces he had left him; which

he

he found diminish'd by a third
 part, not so much by Sallies,
 and in this last occasion, as
 by the Dysentery or Flux which
 began to rage in the Town,
 as well amongst the Citizens
 as Soldiers. In effect the fa-
 tiques together with the bad
 food they eat, had so heated
 the bloud of most of 'em, that
 they fell sick every day. And
 it being impossible for 'em af-
 ter this to do service, the
 rest, whose weariness en-
 creas'd as fast as the number
 of the others diminish'd, were
 soon in the same condition,
 or at least so tir'd out with la-
 bour and watching, that they
 were all ready to drop down
 as they march'd. *Staren-*
berg found himself struck
 with this distemper, which

cast 'em all into a general damp, it being obvious to every one that the Town could not be defended without him. It being fear'd if he continued his incessant labours any longer, he would fall at length under a dangerous malady, he therefore was entreated to give himself rest, and those of the principal Officers who still enjoy'd their perfect health, offer'd the best of their assistance to ease him. But *Starenberg* considering with a great deal of reason, that the condition wherein things lay, requir'd a greater industry than his own, would therefore trust to no body, so that although he was very ill, yet did he order all things, as if he had been in perfect health.

In

In the mean time the *Turks* having made themselves masters of the Counterscarp, and repaired it the best they could, to keep it, brought up their Ordnance to it, and there planted 'em, which began to make a horrid confusion in the Town. They beat down above 300 Foot of the Wall, with one part of the Ravelin: And *Starenberg* desirous to remedy both these inconveniencies, caused a retrenchment to be drawn in the City, over against the Wall which the *Turks* had beat down. As to the Ravelin, he would have repaired it, but the enemies Cannon hinder'd him, and he was forc'd to content himself with half finishing it.

The Duke of *Lorraine* had in this time pitch'd his Camp between *Vienna* and *Cremlo*, on the other side the *Danube*, where he had a Bridge of Boats, over which he made his men pass as oft as they had occasion. He had strengthened the head of his Bridge with two good Forts, where he had lodg'd his Cannon and Foot Soldiers; so that the Enemy willing to drive him thence, sent out a Party to surprise *Tulm*, which would have made his Bridge useless, because that after they had rendered themselves masters of the Town; they would have put therein a Garrison, which would have so straitly pressed our men, that they could not extend themselves beyond the

the *Danube*, as they did before.

The Duke of *Lorraine* having notice of this design, sent word to the Governor of *Tulm* to beware of surprizes. In the mean while to prevent the Enemies return without fighting, he sent out a Party of his men, almost as numerous as that of the Enemy, and being both met, they so roughly encountered, that there remain'd of both sides a great number dead in the field. Yet the advantage lay on the Christians side, who put the *Turks* to flight. But they not daring to pursue 'em too far, for fear of falling into some ambush, were oblig'd to rest contented with what they had already perform'd.

D 5.

This

• This happy success was seconded by several others. For two or three Parties of our men, having met with several Troops of the Enemy, kill'd a great number of 'em, and made the rest Prisoners of War.

But this was not sufficient, for without a speedy succor, *Vienna* was in great danger, Envoys were therefore dispatcht into all Courts, to know what withheld 'em from sending that assistance they promis'd, and which the City so much needed.

The Pope joyn'd not only entreaties to those of the Emperor, but also a great number of Briefs, of which the Court of *Rome* was never sparing, and by which he
granted

granted great indulgences to those that succor'd *Vienna* with Money, and an assurance of going strait to *Paradise*, to such as dyed in so just a quarrel.

But he being sensible that all this would not signifie much, if he added not thereunto effective assistance, he therefore sent good sums of Money to the Emperor, part of which came from his own Coffers, and the rest from the Cardinals, who did this not so much out of devotion, as to assure their own Fortunes, which would have been shaken, had *Vienna* fell under the *Ottoman* power. The Pope likewise sent *Ranucci* into *France* in quality of his *Nuncio*, to move that King
to

to contribute to the succor of Vienna. And to make him the more welcom, gave him consecrated *Agnisses* to present from him to the Duke of Burgundy, Son to Monsieur the Dauphin.

But the King being not over joyful at the news of his coming, sent an express to *Ranucci* not to pass beyond Orleans; under pretence that he was setting out himself for the Frontiers; for what I relate happen'd about the month of May.

In the mean time the Dysentery instead of abating in the City, every moment increas'd, so that near an hundred persons dyed every day, as well Citizens as Soldiers. As to *Starenberg*, if the good dyer

dyet he used, and which others had not, contributed on one hand to his recovery, on the other, God who would not chastise the Christians by the loss of *Neame*, permitted him by little and little to recover his health, that he might continue his diligence as he had begun.

Yet things were still in a very bad case, howsoever we consider them. For on one side the Garrison were ready to drop down with faintness, and on the other no comfortable news came of succour; besides it was reported and that not without truth, that the King of *Poland* had about him persons that were Pensioners of *France*, who endeavour'd to insinuate, that there could be

be no surety to the Kingdom, in making its Forces march out, whilst there were such dangerous enemies at the Gate, and such as were glad of, and lay ready for such an opportunity.

Yet receiving news continually from that King of his readiness to march, these assurances balanced the contrary reports, which *Starenberg* took care to conceal from his Garrison; for 'twas to be fear'd lest this ill news should quite emasculate the Soldiers Courage, who appear'd already but too faint, by so many unhappy events, and such a dangerous distemper wherewith they were afflicted.

But that which contributed to render this malady more incurable,

curable, was the Airs being so infected by the stench of the dead Bodies which lay unburied, that it could not be more dangerous in a time of Plague. The cause of this stench, was, that *Starenberg* would not yield to any terms of a Truce propos'd by the Visier, to take away those of his party, who had been kild in so many several skirmishes, hoping that besides the displeasure he would receive thereby, this would be a spectacle to damp the Courage of the Soldiers, when in marching up to the Charge, they should see before their Eyes the fortune of their Companions, which would be a preface to them of the like.

How.

Howsoever whether 'twas
 this infection or something else,
 which brought this grievous
 sickness into the Town, they
 were so greatly incommodated
 by it, that they would willing-
 ly have been deliver'd from of it
 at the cost of a greater danger
 from the enemy. Yet did this
 distemper rage as well in the
 Camp of the *Turks*, of which
 there dyed every day near 300,
 but which was scarce perceva-
 ble, because they continually
 receiv'd fresh supplies, which
 made up their losses. But these
 being people never train'd up
 in War, they seem'd to come
 there only to fill up a number,
 and not to encrease the forces
 of their party, and being not
 accusom'd to undergo the fa-
 tiques of War, the greatest part
 of

of 'em fell sick at the end of two days, and rather encreas'd the confusion than confidence of the Army.

Starenberg who had advice of whatsoever happen'd in their Camp, took thence occasion to excite his people to patience, to whom he declar'd by a kind of prediction, that the coming of the King of Poland would perfect the ruine of the Infidels, and prove the deliverance of the City. And indeed 'twas time for him to come, now or never. For the Turks being advertiz'd that he was upon his march, us'd their utmost endeavours to become masters of the Town; they had gain'd a Bastion, in taking of which, they surpris'd themselves, if one may so say.

For

For although the Christians had made a marvellous resistance, and such as might be expected from persons enspired by a noble despair; all this had hitherto served only to set a greater luster on the valour of the Enemy.

The Bastion being taken, they attackt the *Ravelin* before mentioned, at the taking of which continuing to Testify their Courage, they forced all within to leave it to 'em. But a Mine which the Christians had made, being at the same time blown up, they found in another kind of death, that death which they despised under a different figure.

They attempted afterwards a descent into the ditch, set up their gabions and gallery,
and

and thundring at the City more than ever with their Cannon, they prepared themselves to carry it by a general assault, before the King of *Poland* could arrive. The day was set for so great a design, being the 29th of *August*, a day sacred amongst them, and which they Solemnized with a great deal of Superstition.

In the mean time the *Visier* caressed the Officers to encourage them the more, telling 'em the day was come to put an end to their Labors, he exhorted them not only to do their duty, but every one in particular to incourage his Souldiers. These Officers in compliance with the command of the *Visier*, called together their

their Regiments, under pre-
 tence of viewing their Arms.
 And taking thence occasion to
 speak of the enterprize, which
 the Grand Visier had formed,
 told them 'twas their fault the
 whole War was not ended in
 one day. That if they took
Vienna, not only all the Chri-
 stian Towns, which were in
Hungary, would surrender of
 themselves, without striking a
 stroke, but a way thorow all
Germany would be laid open,
 where there was no strong
 City, a good and plentiful
 Country, and wherein every
 one would find a recompence
 of his labour. As they held
 with 'em this discourse, the
 Grand Visier, who was come
 out of his Tent, to Authorize
 by his presence the words of
 his

his Commanders, appeared from one end of the line to the other, where in passing, he smiled on every one, to shew his approbation of what the Captains had told 'em: then he begins to order all things necessary for the attack. So that *Staremborg* fearing greatly that day, was as careful on his side that every one should prepare himself to do his best, in such an urgent Occasion. In the meantime he burns the Gallery which the Enemies had made in the ditch, and having thrown several Artificial fires on the Wood which they heaped therein, he so happily set it on fire, that the *Turks* who ran thither with all their endeavours, could not put it out. The fire which they of the
 Town

Town made was so great in this rencounter, that the like was never seen, and as the *Turks* were busied in quenching the fire in the Faggots, there were several of 'em kil'd, and many wounded.

This happy success rais'd up the Christians courage, but did not abate that of the Infidels, who preparing themselves, as by a prelude for a general assault, came to make some essays of their forces, pretending sometimes to rebuild their Gallery, otherwhiles to carry away the Town. And although they did not use all their strength, yet did they so harraß the Garrison, which every day grew weaker, that the Souldiers were scarce able to stand on their Leggs. 'Twas

'Twas about this time, that the Grand *Signor* reckoned himself so sure of the City, that he suffered Count *Caprara*, who had been detained by diverse pretences, to return to the Emperor. And as this circumstance may serve to undeceive those, who imagine that Empire has less policy than power, I shall mention here, under what colour he was retain'd, and what was the real cause of it.

The Grand *Signor* apprehending, lest the Christians should joyn together for the assistance of the Emperour, had thereupon amused all along this Minister with some propositions of peace. But *Caprara* perceiving 'twas a folly to expect it, seeing he de-

demanded no less than the Crown of *Hungary*, would have several times been gone, but they would not let him. The affair of Count *Serini*, whom the Emperor had apprehended, by reason of the intelligence which he held with *Teskely*, furnished the Grand Signor with a pretence, (who knew not how to detain any longer this Minister) to tell him he must serve for an hostage, till he knew in what manner they used Count *Serini*, to whom he would willingly have the Emperor know he granted his Protection. Yet all these proceedings were only to have a person near him, to whom he might make propositions of peace, in case the King of *Poland* with the other Christian Princes,

Princes, should march to the succour of *Vienna*. But the Grand *Visier* sending him word that this Prince was still a great way off, and that he should take the Town, before he could come to its assistance, he thereupon dismiss *Caprara*, who was not a little glad of this his Resolution, not reckoning himself in safety whilst in the hands of this barbarous Prince, whose Will stood for Law to all those under his power.

Things were in this posture, when Count *Staremborg*, who had found out a way for money, to acquaint the Duke of *Lorraine* with his condition, which required a speedy succour, *viz.* That the Garrison was much weakned, and although it

E shewed

shewed still the same Resolution, yet 'twas to be feared, their strength would sooner fail than their courage. That his stock of Powder would be soon exhausted, as well as the Granadoes, yet he believed he had enough, if (what he had heard say were true) to wit, that the King of *Poland* was at hand. The Duke of *Lorraine* answered *Staremburg* by the same man that brought him the Letter. Who being got safe into the Town, had no sooner delivered his Letters to *Staremburg*, but this Governour finding they confirmed the arrival of the King of *Poland*, and that the Town would be soon reliev'd, imparted this good news to the Citizens and Garrison.

Which

Which so greatly encourag-
 ed both, that it gave new
 strength to resist the *Turks*
 when they should come to
 make their grand assault, and
 the hope of being soon deliver-
 ed from danger, made them
 not only respect that which
 they had already been in, as
 a thing of small consequence,
 but moreover despise that
 wherewith they were now
 threatned. The Citizens de-
 sired to keep guard in the Soul-
 diers room, whom they would
 willingly have eased, but al-
 though *Staremborg* did not
 doubt of their good will, yet
 would he not trust them with
 the Posts of Consequence,
 fearing, least the Enemy com-
 ing at that time, they would
 not stand their ground so firm-

ly as the Souldiers, who being of greater experience, much needs be less fearful.

In short, this terrible day wherein the *Turks* were to do such wonders, being come, they betook themselves to their Arms, at the sound of their Drums, Hautbois and Trumpets. They made several marches to make the greater show of their forces, and strike the City with greater fear. Which done, the Cannon which had played ever since break of day with more noise than Execution, ceased, till it began by a general discharge, which was the signal of the assault which they intended.

At the same time one might see those that were to give the first on-set, who were all in battle

battel array, at the entrance of the Trench separate themselves one from another to march where they were ordered ; some with Axes, others with offensive Arms, but all with unusual briskness. The assault lasted six hours, during which the Christians went through great difficulties. For the Infidels were relieved continually by fresh men, whereas the Christians had no sooner got rid of one Enemy, but they had to deal with a second, which was succeeded by a third, and so on.

The Citizens, whom *Staremberg* had put all in Arms, some to guard the publick places, others to secure diverse passages, knowing their whole fortune consisted in the defence

of the Souldiers, whom they were informed were very hard put to it, desired *Staremburg* they might assist them.

The Count seeing his men ready to faint under the number of the Enemy, was well enough pleased at this Offer. And seasonably putting 'em in mind of their Wives and Children, their Liberty and Religion, he so greatly animated them, that they presented themselves on the Breach with more courage than he expected. The fight which seem'd to abate by the fatigue of the Souldiers, began there with great bravery. The *Turks* who now promised themselves an assured Victory, enraged to see it snatcht out of their hands, fought like men desperate. But
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the Christians urged by greater motives, to use their whole strength, so vigorously repulsed them, that assisted by the Soldiers, who had taken breath, and the advantage, which commonly the besieged have over the Assailants, they made the Infidels turn their backs, a great number of whom remained in the breach.

The Grand *Vizier*, seeing on what side soever he turn'd his men, things succeeded ill, soon founded a retreat, lest matters should grow worse. He withdrew into his Camp mad with vexation and despair. For after this Tryal, wherein he had lost above 5000 men, besides those that were wounded, who were near the same number, he fear'd, and that not

without cause, his Troops should mutiny against him. In effect, the *Janisaries* who had suffered much in all the attacks, and especially in this latter, demanded without spending any more time fruitlessly before this place, to raise the siege, adding that of 12000 which they were but six weeks past, they now could number themselves but six, and those so weakned, that they were not in condition to undertake any thing.

This beginning of a sedition was a greater affliction to the Grand *Visier* than the ill success which he came now from having in his enterprize, and it greatly concerning him to stifle it in its birth, he made use of the *Aga*, which is the name

name of him that commands them, and obtained from them at his intercession, to keep within bounds of their duty, in consideration of a certain sum of Money which he promis'd them : a remedy ordinarily used to appease their discontents, but which instead of effecting this, commonly, makes it spring up again on the first occasion.

The Grand *Visier* was no sooner freed from this trouble, but he fell into another. For he was inform'd that the King of *Poland*, having been too hard for *Teckely's* vigilancy, marcht at a great rate to the succor of *Vienna*, and that his Avantguard was already arriv'd on the banks of the *Danube*, to which he would

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joyn himself in a few days.

At this news he caused the wounded and sick to be carried out of the Camp, and having added thereunto new fortifications, he bethought of reducing the Town, before the *Poles* came to attack him, which could not be yet, their Army being tired by a long march, and needed rest.

Several other Princes had joyn'd in person with their Troops the Army of the Emperor, as the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the Duke of *Saxony*. Besides there came from all parts of Christendom, *France* excepted, a great number of Lords and Persons of Quality to the Emperors Army. All which was likely to raise the Siege, without any longer expecting

pecting the King of *Poland*, supposing he had tarried any time. But these two Princes being unwilling to obey the Duke of *Lorraine*, and he being as unwilling to yield to them the command, all these great forces lay useless, till the King of *Poland* should come to make them agree. For they began already to look upon one another with an ill Eye, not considering, that their business was not to contend for preeminence, but for the safety of Christendom.

As for the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, he had for some time flattered the Emperour with sending him a considerable supply, but being urg'd to perform what he had promis'd, and hindered by the Alliance of
France,

France, he sought a pretence to break his word, which he found in the demand of the Dutchy of *Brieg*, *Lignits*, and *Wolnaw*, over which he pretended a lawful Right. And truly the Emperor was reduced to such an extremity, that 'twas thought he would grant him his demands rather than be without his assistance. But what the Marquiss of *Brandenburg* did, being only for a fair pretence to disengage himself, he thereupon adds another demand, which he knew the Emperor would never grant him. To wit, to permit the Protestants of *Silesia* to have the free exercise of their Religion, whereupon the Emperor plainly perceiving whence this dealing came, waited no more on his promises.

Count

Count *Waldee*, who was declar'd Prince of the Empire, very lately, and who had Command of the Circular Troops given him, came likewise into the Emperors Army, who by reason of his experience in the War, and Zeal to his service, was willing to confer with him about the manner of saving *Vienna*. The Emperor approv'd of whatsoever he offer'd him thereupon, but expecting the King of *Poland*, who was to decide the whole matter, this advice and that of several others, on the same subject, serv'd only to content him at that moment, for the whole order of it was chang'd as soon as ever that Prince was come.

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In fine, he arriv'd at *Holbron*, on the second of *September*, with the bravest Cavalry the World ever saw, but so tir'd, that 'twould be to hazard all, to attempt any thing in the Condition they were in. The Duke of *Lorrain*, who had taken care to store up Provision, for the refreshment of this Army against it came, went to meet him at *Holbron*, where the King of *Poland* receiv'd him with great Testimonies of Friendship and Confidence, although they had been both rivals in the pursuit of the Crown of *Poland*. The Duke of *Bavaria*, and the Duke of *Saxony* came thither also to salute him, and the King of *Poland* presented them his Eldest Son, named *Alexander*,

ander, a Prince of about 17 or 18 years of Age, who came to make his Apprentiship in the War, under the King his Father, who knew enough to instruct him. The former Compliments being ended, they held a Council of War; not to know whether they should succor *Vienna*, for that matter was resolv'd upon long before, but to resolve of the manner of doing it.

The whole affair being determin'd by 'em, 'twas communicated to the Emperor, who having approv'd of what was offer'd, it only now lay upon 'em to dispose of things necessary for so great a design, and the Campaign being not only wasted, but not so much as an inhabitant left in any of
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the houses, from whom might be expected the least matter, every man was forc'd to carry provision as well for his Horse as for himself.

The Grand Visier not being ignorant of the great preparations which the Christians made against him, took all possible care on his side to make a good defence. Yet was he in no small inquietude how to effect this. For he was at variance with the chiefest Officers of his Army, who were of opinion that without delaying 'till the Christians came, they should retire to *Newhausel*, alledging to justify the soundness of their advice, that their Army was so tired with this long siege, that the Soldiers had more need of rest than

than labour. And moreover that the greatest part of their men had never seen any thing more of War, than what this siege had shew'd 'em, how then could they resist an Army, which consisted of the flower of Christendom, and wherein moreover there were such a great number of Princes and persons of esteem, who came there to Conquer or to Dye. That there would be no likelihood of success in exposing the remainder of an unfortunate Army, against so flourishing a one, and against a Garrison, whose valour they had sufficiently experienc'd by the defeat of their best Troops, and so many assaults in vain. That whilst they had time, they should save not only the
Army,

Army, but also the reputation of the Grand Signior, which was sufficiently lessen'd, by so fruitless a siege, and wherein they had lost above 30 thousand men.

The Grand Visier answer'd to this, that the reputation of the *Sultan* would rather be lost, if after their remaining so long before a Town, where they had consum'd so much Money, they should be so base as to retire before they had struck a stroak. That their Army was twice as big as that of the Christians, and that if the Soldiers wanted experience, 'twas enough their Leaders did not, seeing 'twas necessary to the former only to have Courage, and these to have skill. That the *Turks* should

should keep their ground, which was all that could be desired of a Soldier. That as to success, that indeed was uncertain, but howsoever they could not fail of this consolation, of having done their duty, and not having fled from the Enemy, which would overwhelm them with infamy all their days.

The Grand Visier's advice was to serve as a Law, wherefore they were forc'd to comply. In the mean while apprehending lest the *Janisaries* should joyn themselves to those who were for raising the siege, he took care to keep 'em within the bounds of their duty, and made 'em great promises, in case they behav'd themselves well in the fight.

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The next morning he took a review of his Army, which consisted still of an Hundred and Ten Thousand fighting men, and resolving to call to his assistance the Troops which he had left about *Raab*, and other places of *Hungary*, he sent others in their places, in whom he put not such confidence.

On the side which the Christians had resolv'd to attack his lines, there stood a Wood, through which they must necessarily pass to come at him. The Christians at the beginning of the Campaign took care to make a commodious passage. But the Grand Visier believ'd he might annoy 'em, if he possess himself of it, he there-upon timely sent five or six
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Battalions, who had fell'd several Trees, with which they retrenched themselves. On the other hand the Grand Visier, having left 20 Thousand men for the Guard of his Camp and Trench, marcht out of his Trenches with his Horse and Foot, whereof he form'd three lines, without reckoning the Body he had reserv'd, and possessing himself of a little hill, which might be advantagious during the fight, he caused his Cannon to be brought thither, charging those who were plac'd there above all things to abide firm.

In the mean while the Christian Army, the Commanders of which had implor'd the divine assistance,
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by publick and private Prayers, marched with great confidence of Victory, having at its head a Prince of so great reputation, and who had already beaten the *Turks* in several other occasions. But as this Circumstance rais'd their Courage, so did it abase that of the *Turks*, who fear'd more the *Poles* than any Nation; so that they had rather it had been the Emperor at the head of his Forces, than to have there a King, whose Fortune and Valour they greatly dreaded. But besides that the Emperor would not so greatly expose himself, the King of *Poland* came not so far to obey another, and the Emperor on his side would pretend to Command him,
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and therefore t'avoid all disputes he remain'd at *Lintz*, ordering Prayers to be said in all the Churches, which were never empty of people, who sought of God with the greatest fervor, to favour the Christian Army.

The Army being arriv'd at the Wood, the fight began, and was at first obstinately enough maintain'd by both Parties. But the Christians who saw that if they behav'd not themselves fiercely in this occasion, the Grand Visier might refresh his Troops which would give them far more trouble, leapt over the retrenchments of the Enemy, and having driven them from the Wood, kill'd as many of 'em as were not quick enough
to

to save themselves. The Wood being wholly clear'd, the Avantguard of the Army drew up it self at the head of the Wood, to save the arrear-guard, fearing lest marching farther, without being in a condition to fight, the Grand Visier should march up towards them, and make advantage of the ill condition wherein he might find them. But he was unwilling to depart so far from *Vienna*, fearing lest while he was on the other side, the Christians would let out the *Danube* over one part of his Army, and attack those he had left for the keeping the lines, who would be too much put to it to resist at the same time these new Enemies, and the Garrison likewise,

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who would not fail to sally out.

And therefore he every moment sent out Parties, to see what passed on the side of the *Danube*, for he was in greater fear of what might be done on that side, than on the other, altho he was advertised every moment that the Christians march'd against him, & should have 'em upon his skirts within an hour or two at farthest.

And indeed 'twas necessary these succors should be so near. For altho the *Turks* were not as yet in the Town, yet they were at least under it by means of their mines, which was the reason why *Starenberg* caus'd a Lanthorn to be put on the high Tower of *S. Stephen*, which was the sign, agreed upon by the Duke of *Lorraine* and he,

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when he should find himself in a great strait. His Miners also were so heartless, that he had all the difficulty in the World to make 'em work, besides the Garrison were so damp't by their incessant labors and toils, and which is worse reduced to 5 thousand 5 hundred men, of 16 thousand that they were in the beginning of the Siege. For if they lost six thousand by the hand of the Enemy, sickness had carried away few less, so that dying as they did in heaps, they were not burried one by one, but thrown ten or twelve together in an hole.

Those that had escaped so great danger, and who in expectation of the same fortune, suffered themselves almost to languish

languish away, being informed that the succors, with which they had been so often vainly flattered were near, and on this side the Wood, where they were seen already to appear, took their Arms with such courage, that a man would have thought 'em other men, than those one might have seen the other moment. They went all on the Rampart, without expecting any other command, than that which their courage inspired, and it much availed *Staremburg*, that they were invivened by this new hope, for those whom the Grand Visier left to guard the Camp, and ordered to go up to the assault, as soon as ever they saw him March towards the Enemy, acquitted themselves with so

great Resolution and constancy that they never had before done the like. In the mean time the besieged, who considered if they repelled this last effort, they should be delivered from the misery which had so long afflicted them, fought with no less courage; so that never was an hotter dispute on both sides.

Whilst this happened, the King of *Poland* was ingaged with the Grand Visier, who had march'd up to him, with more courage than prudence. For without considering he left the Post, where he had lodged his Cannon, and whence he might greatly molest the Christians, he began the charge, whereas he should have expected the King of *Poland* to come and charge him. But whether he be-

believed there was any advantage to him that gave the first onset, or would thereby animate his men, of whose courage he doubted, he neglected to use these precautions, of which he presently repented. For his Troops giving back, after the first charge, the Christians, so boldly pursued them, that those that had the care of the Cannon durst not fire, lest it should prove as hurtful to their own men as ours.

Staremborg being advertized by persons whom he had placed in the highest parts of the Town, that the beginning of the combat was as favorable to the Christians as could be desired, made at the same time a Sally out of the Garrison, who had already drove the

Turks from off the Rampart. And several Citizens being mixt with the Soldiers, to share with 'em in the Honour, they all fiercely attackt the Enemy, who thought already of packing up their baggage, from the advice which they had of the Grand *Vifir*, that all things went ill on his part, and that they ought to think of a retreat. Then every one without regretting what he had left in the Tent, minded only to save himself, when *Staremborg* at the head of his men charg'd them so vigorously, that they threw themselves down one upon another for haste, who should first get away. And the lines of circumvallation hindring 'em from passing so soon as they desired, they en-
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deavor'd to fill them up with their Muskets, which at that moment served for Pick-axes and Shovels, others with their hands; every one using more diligence to Ruin these lines than they had done to put 'em in the condition they were in. *Staremberg* seeing the disorder wherein the *Turks* were, was ravisht at so happy an occasion. But his prudence, hindring him from going far from the Town, he contented himself with sending some Horse after the hindermost, and staid himself in the mean time near the Walls, where he caused the Enemies works to be demolished, lest things should change its face.

In the mean time these fugitives encreased the fear in the
Wisers

Visiers Army, which was already but two great; for the King of *Poland* had defeated his left Wing, whose Horse left the foot at the discretion of the *Poles*, who had fallen upon 'em and put 'em to the Sword; as to the right Wing, it made a little more resistance. But the Grand Visier considering that in the condition wherein the fight was, it was impossible to reestablish it, & that moreover the Trench was quitted, with all the works which had cost him so much blood, he resolv'd to spare that which remain'd, and to leave rather his Camp, and his Tents which were still standing, than to be the cause of shedding more by a fruitless obstinacy. In this design he caus'd the Retreat to be found-

sounded, but the foot being not able to follow the Horse, which rather fled than held on an orderly *March*, several of 'em were cut in pieces, and there were not a 4th part of 'em saved.

The King of *Poland* having made a Detachment, to put into the Town, and given thanks to God for his Victory, in the very Field where he gained it, gave strict command, under grievous penalties, that no one should leave his rank to plunder. The Dukes of *Bavaria*, *Saxony*, and *Lorrain*, who had fought likewise with a great deal of courage, did as much on their side, and the keeping of the *Turks* Camp was consign'd to three thousand men, whilst a Council of War was call'd

call'd to know whether the Enemy, should be pursued, or they rest contented with the advantage already obtained. The advices were different, thereupon the King of *Poland*, and the Duke of *Lorrain*, with all those that were in the Emperors interests, were for pursuing their Victory, but the Dukes of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, who came only to succour *Vienne*, would not any more hazard their Troops. Especially the Duke of *Saxony*, who complained, that by reason of his Religion, they had been made to suffer enough already. In effect the best quarters were not his, and he had heard that they suspected lest his Troops having their Winter quarters in *Hungary*, should hold intel-
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ligence with *Teckely*. This Prince seeing then, that after he had traverst a great Country, hazarded his reputation, and even his life, and left his Estates, to succour those of another, he was so ill recompensed, resolved upon returning home, where he arrived more laden with glory than spoil; for the confederates seeing he forsook the common cause notwithstanding their opinion, gave him what part they pleased; which again doubled his discontent.

The Duke of *Bavaria* had better usage, because perhaps the Emperor apprehended, lest he in the differences he had with *France*, should take part against him being moreover solicited to it by several advantageous offers, besides his Alliance with it. Howsoever all these Princes being not agreed, they made, as we say,

a Golden bridge, for the Enemy to pass over, who retired on the side of *Newhausel*, where they expected 3 days the wracks of their Army. In the mean while the Grand Visier was not without inquietude, how the grand *Seignor* would receive the news of his defeat, and to cast all the fault on others, he wrote a Letter against those that had the chief command under him. But we have not heard what the Grand *Seignor* has resolved thereupon, no more than what the King of *Poland* has done, reports concerning whom are so various, that there's as yet no certainty of 'em. Yet tis not to be doubted being so great a Captain as he is, but he will make the best advantage of his Victory, which all Christians ought to desire.

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